

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,071 January 4, 1957 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)



This 11-year-old Egyptian boy was shot in the head while in the street during Anglo-French attacks on Port Said. The boy died. Photo by Per-Olof Anderson

Niemoller, Russell, Mrs Roosevelt and others appeal for WORLD ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

DR. MARTIN NIEMOLLER, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and (Earl) Bertrand Russell are among 28 people of international renown who have signed a manifesto calling for the international abolition of capital punishment.

The manifesto, issued on Monday, December 31, reads:

"With reverence for all life the undersigned appeal to the governments and parliaments of the world and to the United Nations for the abolition of capital punishment. They call upon all men and women of good will to support a world-wide campaign with this goal.

"Capital punishment is a cruel survival of primitive ages when punishment has been inflicted only as an act of vengeance without any deterrent or reformatory considerations.

"Many countries have abolished capital punishment for years without any clear evidence that the abolition of the death sentence resulted in an increase of violent acts.

"Murder—the main offence punishable by death in modern times—is mostly not premeditated, but a consequence of sudden impulses of an unbalanced mind. The causes are often deeply rooted in family and society.

"Besides, there is always the possibility of the miscarriage of justice which cannot be corrected when capital punishment has been applied."

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STATE OF WAR IN SUMATRA

PRESIDENT SUKARNO of Indonesia proclaimed a state of war and siege over South Sumatra on Monday, the twelfth day of a revolt by army leaders in Sumatra, Indonesia's largest and richest island.

Roy Sherwood writes about this new danger spot on page two.



At the National Peace Council stand at the 1956 Schoolboys' Exhibition, The Royal Horticultural Hall, London; Mr. O. D. Holdbrook, of Dinneba, Gold Coast, West Africa, signs autographs for some of the young visitors to the exhibition.

Stand No. 4 at the Schoolboys Exhibition tells visitors what young men and women can do to establish peace more firmly.

Among the less peaceful exhibits was a hermetically sealed workshop used by members of the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment for machining highly dangerous substances used in atomic bombs. Officials were present to advise on careers in the atomic field.

The War Office stand gives an opportunity to fire a guided missile. "On the command 'Fire' a model rocket will leave its launching site for a target selected by any visitor." The RAF exhibits scale-model fighters.

The Exhibition catalogue includes an advertisement for Peace News; entitled "Supermen . . . and pacifists."

FACTS: 100,000 REFUGEES NEED AID IN EGYPT

THE numbers of refugees and homeless in Egypt as a result of the Anglo-French bombardment and invasion exceeds 100,000. There is urgent need for relief supplies now that the weather in Egypt is cold and wintry.

These facts are revealed in reports from two well-qualified observers: Paul Johnson, an American Quaker with intimate experience of the Middle East who has been in Egypt on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee, and the Rev. Russell Stevenson, Chairman of the Emergency Committee for Relief to Egyptian War Victims set up by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.

Mr. Stevenson was given facilities by the US State Department to fly out to Egypt to investigate conditions there.

Both these observers passed through London on their return and made known the urgent need for relief.

Mr. Stevenson handed the following interim report to Mr. George Wigg, MP, who in turn has passed it on to Peace News for publication:

RUSSELL STEVENSON'S REPORT

Interim comments regarding refugees and war victims in Egypt

CATEGORIES

1. More than one hundred thousand refugees have fled from Port Said and neighbouring villages. They are scattered throughout the Nile Delta, many taking refuge with relatives and friends while some 61,000 others are being cared for in school buildings and social service centres. The immediate care of these refugees has been assumed by the Ministry of Social Affairs which has employed two hundred additional personnel, as well as receiving valuable assistance from teachers, volunteers from the various communities, and help from a score of voluntary agencies.
2. An unknown number of Egyptians remaining in Port Said. These people are living in a largely destroyed Arab quarter of the city, are at the moment largely unemployed, and are suffering from certain food shortages, especially vegetables and fruit.
3. A group of seven thousand refugees from Sinai who fled the fighting

there and are now located in temporary camps in Kantara, East.

NOTE: Those in category 1 are divided as follows:

	In Camps (schools and social centres)	Out of Camps
SOUHAG	17,698	—
CAIRO	—	3,787
GIZA	2,107	—
KALUBIA	150	1,759
MINUFIA	2,340	777
GHARBIA	5,815	—
SHARKIA	400	—
DAMIETTA	15,430	12,035
DAKHALIA (Inc. Mansura)	17,010	48,330
Total	61,150	66,688

NEEDS

The great majority of these refugees fled leaving everything behind. They are in need of shelter, food, clothing, and medical care.

The Government is getting them registered, is providing ten piastres a day per refugee, and is working on plans to return them to Port Said once the city is again under Egyptian control.

The idea is to allow those to return to the city whose homes are habitable.

The remainder will be located in temporary camps and centres on the Port Said golf course until such time as new construction has been completed to replace the present destroyed Arab section.

This interim period will probably extend from six months to a year, roughly to the end of 1957. Following are some of the priority needs as agreed upon by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Inter-Ministerial Council:

Cooking oils, canned meats, canvas material for tenting, clothing of all kinds (especially sweaters and yard goods), multi-purpose vitamins, cots or folding beds, blankets, bedding and cash. Money will be used for the local purchase of primus stoves, cooking utensils, food and medical supplies. Also desired is recreational equipment such as balls, chequers, dominoes, etc.

RESOURCES

The Egyptian Government has already received sizeable contributions from the employees of the Arabian-American Oil Co., the International Red Cross, and the Egyptian Red Crescent. In America there has been formed the Emergency Committee for Relief to Egyptian War Victims.

Help is also coming from various countries related to the World Council of Churches Department of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees.

RUSSELL STEVENSON.

"I was very impressed by Mr. Stevenson."

● ON PAGE SIX

Homer Jack visits Washington, Gettysburg and New York to report the historic meeting of

NEHRU AND EISENHOWER

ALMOST half a hundred Prime Ministers and Heads of State have made the pilgrimage to Washington during the four years Dwight Eisenhower has been President. There never was, however, such a visit as the one Jawaharlal Nehru recently paid to the President.

Originally an invitation in the summer of 1955 for the President to visit New Delhi, and twice delayed by the President's illnesses, the visit finally took the form of a marathon tete-a-tete at Gettysburg.

Rarely has President Eisenhower or his Government prepared for a visit so carefully. Rarely have such efforts in personal diplomacy been so obviously successful. The tenor of American-India relations in recent years has been uneven and criticisms of Nehru have been sharp in recent weeks in America.

*Homer A. Jack spent five days in Washington, Gettysburg, and New York during the Nehru visit as a reporter for The Hindustan Times of New Delhi and for Peace News.

Nevertheless, Nehru came. He talked. He conquered. This triumph occurred at a time when, since the Suez invasion, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers representing even America's erstwhile closest allies were not welcomed at the White House.

The most important outcome of the Nehru visit was that the personal conversations between the Pandit and the President went off well.

Men who knew both wondered what they could talk about for fourteen solid hours. They even wondered if Eisenhower would be reduced to teaching Nehru golf or if Nehru would have to pass the time by teaching Eisenhower to stand on his head. Enough clues have emerged to lead to the conclusion that both men used their time well to explore common objectives rather than only argue obvious differences.

They exchanged political realities which condition their national positions, making the latter more rigid than probably either man would prefer. In the very informal atmosphere

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PORT SAID: EGYPTIAN CASUALTIES

Paul Johnson

in answer to a question put by Bernard Canter, editor of The Friend, and published in that journal on December 28:

"Somewhere, in my view, between the British and Egyptian figures. An independent calculation, on which I have reason to rely, but which cannot in the circumstances be precise, is that the death-roll may have been, at a maximum, 2,000."

"On the same authority I would say that 4,000 homes were destroyed, mainly in the old town on the western side of the city. The Egyptian Government is saying that four-fifths of the refugees fled because they had been rendered homeless by the bombardment; but I prefer the much lower figure I have given you; and in my view four-fifths of the refugees fled because they were terrified, and only one-fifth were in actual fact homeless."

"The Egyptian Government is planning a big scheme of rehousing in Port Said, to build homes not only for those bombed out but also for those in adjoining areas living in substandard accommodation. The number of houses planned is 32,000—a scheme which would cost £E50,000,000."

British White Paper

(Herbert Report, Cmnd 47, 1s. 4d., HMSO):

Dead: 650; wounded and slightly wounded: 900 to 1,200 (Exclusive of casualties in Port Fuad, occupied by French). There were no casualties among the 835 British living all over the city.

Commander Gilette

US Naval Attaché in Cairo:

Dead: 1,000; wounded: 2,000. "His own rough estimates based on conversations with Egyptian doctors . . ." (The Times, December 22, 1956.)

Commenting on these figures, George Wigg, MP, told Peace News "the figures now admitted by the Government tally closely with those given by Premier Nehru which were derided at the time. The Herbert Report is not an independent enquiry"; Mr. Wigg expressed the view that many Egyptians were drowned in attempting to flee from Port Said by water.

January 4th 1957

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PEACE NEWS

Distribution office for U.S.A.
130 Brattle St.
Cambridge 38 Mass.

BI-PARTISANSHIP

AN important question that faces Britain in 1957 is whether there is to be a resumption of bi-partisanship in foreign policy and, if so, what is to be its basis.

Bi-partisanship has been destroyed by the Government with the support of the Conservative Party over the Suez question and the invasion of Egypt. That the Labour Party has been repeatedly accused by Conservative spokesmen of "dividing the nation" is an impudent reversal of what has actually taken place.

There can only be bi-partisanship in policy if there is scrupulous care that on all major issues there shall be consultation, and no action without common agreement. In both world wars that common agreement was such that it could develop into government by coalition. In our view, of course, it would have been much better for the world if the bi-partisanship that preceded them had been different.

On the invasion of Egypt there was not only no joint decision, but as the Government knew that no joint decision it wanted could be obtained, there was a complete absence of consultation. Just as the US Government, the Commonwealth Governments, and the organs of the United Nations were kept in ignorance of the intentions of the British Government, so was the Opposition in Parliament.

(Incidentally, the leader of the French Socialist Party connived with the leader of the British Conservative Party in keeping his British Socialist colleagues in ignorance.)

It was a Conservative decision that the action to be entered upon should be taken without consultation and irrespective of the views of the Opposition Party. It was decided that bi-partisanship should not obtain.

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IS it now to be renewed? We believe that the Labour Party in Parliament will be misrepresenting the views of its members in the country and will be false to the principles it exists to serve if it again accepts the conventions of bi-partisanship without first making a clear declaration of the policy upon which it would be ready to co-operate and placing a forthright statement of that policy before the electorate at the next election. The result of the election would reveal whether or not bi-partisanship could obtain in the future.

Policy is now in the melting-pot, and what comes out must inevitably be different from what has gone before. Labour should take the initiative towards clarification in the light of its own principles.

As a result of its Egyptian escapade, for instance, the Government indicates that there is likely to be a considerable scaling down in the level of armaments. Thus the policy of the Labour Government initiated five years ago (as a part of bi-partisan policy, and after very full consultation with the Conservative leaders) of an unprecedented armaments expenditure is now to be ended. This revision, however, is not because it is now estimated that the earlier plan was, or has become excessive.

It is just that the economic calamity resulting from the Franco-British invasion of Egypt has made it necessary that savings shall be produced from somewhere.

This is not an approach to this subject that should satisfy the Labour Party. That Party has always been, rather dubiously, opposed to empire, and should now face the fact that "Imperial Britain" must become something that belongs to history.

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WE believe that today the focal point for consideration is the question of Cyprus. It is surely obvious that if Britain is no longer to act as an Imperial Power, if what has happened in Egypt marks the last of this type of undertaking in the Middle East, Britain has no need to deny both self-government and self-determination to the people of Cyprus.

The whole case for the British presence in Cyprus is gone. What is now to be discussed today, therefore, is not whether or not the Radcliffe proposals are a sufficient first instalment, but whether there can be any justification in Britain seeking to direct the future of Cyprus at all.

The question of conscription equally has to be seen in this different perspective. This has always been justified on the basis of British "commitments," accepted equally by the Labour Party and the Conservatives.

These commitments can apply only if Britain is a great Imperial Power, and that she quite clearly is not, and cannot be. The Labour Party should cease finessing on this question and make it quite clear that conscription is a useless futility and a wanton waste of youthful years.

The end of Imperial Britain does not mean that Britain can no longer aspire to leadership and greatness of influence in the world. The direction in which that leadership lies has been indicated by the Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party when he advocates devoting one per cent of the national income to help for the needy peoples of the world.

It should be pursued by his Party, however, as the really important aspect of its Foreign Policy and not merely, as hitherto, something it would be nice to do if only we were not devoting so much money to armaments.

A new danger spot in the East

By ROY SHERWOOD

IT seems to run counter to all the lessons of history to suggest that it can ever be wise to set the clock back.

But in the case of the troubles in Sumatra, the Indonesian Government would serve the cause of wisdom and world peace best if it went back to the conditions agreed upon with the Dutch in 1949 for the constitution of the (then) future sovereign Indonesia.

What was then envisaged, and laid down in the set of agreements under which the transfer of sovereignty became operative, was a federation of autonomous states, referred to in the documents as the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

Jakarta was to be the acknowledged centre of the federation, but it was not to be the seat of a centralised government; and even that was not accepted throughout the huge area involved, as shown by the long struggle for independence in the Moluccas with its trail of Ambonese refugees in Holland.

CENTRALISATION

But within less than nine months from the date of its independence the Jakarta Government annulled the federative organisation and turned the Republic into a single, centrally governed state.

The full realm of the Republic covers a matter of three thousand islands, inhabited, racially and culturally, by different peoples in vastly varying conditions of every form of development; and it stretches in

distance from a point well to the north-west of Singapore to close to New Guinea, in front of Australia.

It is so huge an area that its efficient administration would tax all the resources of even a well experienced and very large governmental machine, and it was this fact that accounts for a good deal of neglect of the lesser and more distant islands by the Dutch while they were in power.

It is therefore merely pointing out the obvious to say that the newly created Republic, getting rid as quickly as it could of Dutch elements in the services, has never had, has not now and will not have within any foreseeable time at its disposal, the necessary resources either in money or in men to do justice to the needs of all the people it has insisted on bringing under its control.

The two wisest men on the Indonesian side were Sutan Sjahrir and Mahommed Hatta, both overshadowed by the more dynamic personality of Sukarno, who became the first President of the Republic and remains in that position to this day.

A fine orator and something of a firebrand, Sukarno has never shown any evidence of great gifts for statesmanship. He has preferred the easier way of the demagogue.

To him, Dutch misdeeds past or actual—and particularly their refusal

to hand over additional sovereignty over Western New Guinea—have always been the trump cards ensuring continued popular support and enthusiasm.

It is not his fault that his Government has always been short of competent and honest officials, and that the low standard of efficiency often runs in harness with corruption. But he has been far too lenient with both.

(At the present moment the Republic's Minister for Foreign Affairs is under judicial investigation on charges of being implicated in a case of corruption.)

DISCONTENT

If, however, President Sukarno had paid less attention to his mob-rousing campaign for extending the Republic's sovereignty to Western New Guinea, and had devoted the same amount of energy to building-up an efficient and trustworthy administration over the enormous area already under Jakarta control, the present rebellion in Sumatra would not have broken out.

It is not a mere revolt under the leadership of self-glorifying irresponsibles. Nor is there any pro-Dutch element in it.

The leader in Central Sumatra, Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmad Hoessein, fought determinedly against the Dutch at the time of the "police actions."

There is no doubt whatever that

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THERE was an interesting contrast between the reaction of the Manchester Guardian and the Observer—two newspapers that have taken substantially the same critical line regarding the Government's action in Egypt—to Sir Anthony Eden's statement that "there was no foreknowledge that Israel would attack Egypt."

The Manchester Guardian accepts this statement without qualification, although criticism is implied in the heading to its comment, "At Last". The Observer, however, quite bluntly indicates that it does not believe the Prime Minister. It says:

"We believe he has given a false impression, and one known to be false by his closest Cabinet colleagues, the Service Chiefs and some Civil Servants: the truth is known officially in Paris and Canberra and accidentally in Washington. We believe that the truth will inevitably come out, and we fear that then the name of Britain, and incidentally that of the Conservative Party, will be stained by what will come to be called, in plain terms, lying."

An enquiry

WE do not propose to pronounce between these two different views. Even accepting the Prime Minister's statement, however, there is still a great deal to be explained, and outstandingly why Parliament and the country had to wait seven weeks before that statement was made.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had already given a number of denials. He had for instance denied "categorically" that there had been joint complicity as between France, Britain and Israel in this matter. He had very carefully refrained, nevertheless, categorically or otherwise, from making the disavowal that we were to get at last from the Prime Minister.

Why? Mr. Butler and Mr. Macmillan had also been given plenty of opportunities to give the assurance that was only to come at last from the Prime Minister.

Why did he not do so? A possible explanation could be that they felt that the responsibility for the possible consequences of such a statement in the light of possible future disclosures could only be taken by the Prime Minister.

There is today no less a necessity for an enquiry into the whole history of this business and we hold the view that the Opposition and the Liberals in Parliament should formally demand one.

New policy

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER proposes to ask Congress to endorse a resolution which will empower him to send military assistance to any of the Middle Eastern countries in the event of aggression.

That there should be no possibility of it being thought that this assistance may be "offered" in the same way as France and Britain "offered" it to Egypt, the President announces that a declaration by any Govern-

ment that it wishes to be excluded from the operations of the policy thus declared will be accepted by the United States Government as effective.

The aggression that is envisaged is, of course, Russian, but what is objected to in the Middle East is not actual armed invasion but the pursuance by the Russian bloc of the same policies as are pursued by the US and the Western bloc: the supply of arms, the utilisation of the Arab-Israeli trouble as a means to extending influence, and permeation by technical and other assistance.

The danger in this new American policy is in the possible definitions of aggression, and also in interven-

Collusion Near East The Nile

tion by America in troubles in regard to which Russia may have no direct concern.

Israel, for instance, will be one of the States that will be covered by the American declaration unless its Government specifically declares that it does not wish this to be so; and it seems to be implied in the declaration that the US would intervene if Israel were under attack from one of the Arab States, or vice versa.

In this event what President Eisenhower appears to be contemplating is something very close to the action taken by the French and the British that has brought universal condemnation.

An even greater danger would be an intervention to maintain one of the Arab Governments against a "subversive" movement (on the model of the Russian action in Hungary) on the ground that subversion in the "free world" inevitably emanates from Russia.

U.S. aid for the Middle East

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER is also contemplating a proposal to offer extensive economic aid to the peoples of the Middle East, variously reported as 400 and 500 million dollars.

This has much more promise for the future than the plan for military aid, but it prompts the reflection that if this decision had been taken three or four months ago instead of that to reverse the offer regarding the Aswan Dam a great deal of distress might have been averted and many lives spared.

Wisely administered—particularly in an endeavour to induce both Jews and Arabs to face the question of the refugees as a human problem rather than as an aspect of foreign policy—this aid may do good. Regarded in a wider perspective, however, this type of aid carries with it much of the

disadvantage that attached to the substitution of "Mutual Security Aid" for President Truman's original conception of aid under "Point Four."

If aid is brought as one of the means of waging a power struggle between two great blocs the inevitable consequence is that the recipients so far from feeling gratitude, will seek to play off one bloc against the other by putting their adherence (or neutrality) up to auction.

It is good that the US is contemplating this action. It would be better if President Eisenhower were to offer the money for disbursement through one of the organs of UN and if he sought to bring Russia into the picture by indicating that it would be preferable if there could be co-operation in bringing assistance to the Middle East rather than competition.

Sharing water

A CORRESPONDENT raised in The Times recently a question that has received very little attention in connection with the project for the construction of the Aswan Dam.

He suggests that if, instead of the abrupt withdrawal of the offer of help in the construction of the dam, Colonel Nasser had been asked as a preliminary to secure the agreement of the countries controlling the upper reaches of the river to pass down the required amount of water to justify the construction of the dam, it is unlikely that such agreement would be forthcoming.

The countries through which the Nile and its tributaries flow before their water reaches Egypt are Uganda, Abyssinia, The Congo and the Sudan.

This issue of the power of control over the waters of the Nile used to bulk largely during the period of the British-Egyptian Condominium as a reason advanced by Egypt as to why she could not accept Sudanese independence; and it is quite clear that where a river has so great an influence on the welfare of the peoples of the lands through which it flows, it ought to be subject to some machinery for joint agreement as to the use of its waters.

With the newly developed disposition to accord help in the development of the Middle Eastern countries this aspect ought to be provided for.

Whatever is to be done with the Nile water should be the result of a common decision of all the peoples concerned. If the only countries to be considered were Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia, we think that there is little doubt that the Egyptian Government could be induced to accept a representative controlling Council which could make provision for the disposal of the Nile water as a whole.

If the Congo and Uganda have to be brought in, however, this is a different matter as this would mean the introduction of imperialist power into the business through representatives whose attitudes would be controlled by Belgium and Britain.

From the Editor's Notebook

"A Living Newspaper"

THE Unity Theatre's timely venture "A Living Newspaper," has some stimulating guest speakers for the discussion which comes at the end of each performance.

Tonight (Friday) Kingsley Martin, of the New Statesman, will be there, followed by Basil Davidson (Daily Herald correspondent recently in Hungary) on Saturday and Peter Fryer (former Daily Worker correspondent in Budapest, recently expelled from the Communist Party) on Sunday.

Further details about this Unity Theatre show appear elsewhere in Peace News.

Many thanks

THE office has been gay with Christmas Cards sent to us by readers all over the world.

There is a vividly photographed and beautifully produced snow scene from Finland and from Southern Rhodesia a drawing of an African child crawling after a ball; this has been drawn on to a stencil and duplicated.

To those many friends who have thought of us in this way I send thanks on behalf of all the staff.

When PN reaches Ottawa

A CANADIAN reader, Edith Holtom, of Hawthorne Avenue, Ottawa, in sending a donation towards the cost of reproducing the Port Said pictures writes:

"In the Ottawa Citizen there had been a number of letters on Suez,

some blaming Eden and others condoning, but very little about the damage done, so when Peace News arrived I immediately wrote a letter quoting from Peace News..."

When her letter was published on December 3 all reference to the pictures was deleted, but her closing sentence in a paragraph on censorship will now have been fully backed up by the latest "official" reports on the damage done. Edith Holtom wrote:

"The cruelty which women and children were subjected to by British bombing will probably be told in 'official' reports after it is all over. Censorship is a weapon of war."

Increased emigration

FROM cases known to him personally, Frank Allaun, MP, has formed the opinion that the greatly increased scale of emigration from Britain is largely the result of fear of another world war.

In the House on December 20 Frank Allaun asked if the "three-fold leap during the last three or four months," could not be explained "largely by the widespread fear of parents for the safety of their children in this highly vulnerable country and the increased dangers of a third world war following the Government's aggression against Egypt."

Replying for the Government, Lord John Hope said, "I do not accept one single word of what the hon. Gentleman has said."

Nevertheless Frank Allaun's view is supported by evidence in the Manchester Guardian and by TV reporters.

BOY-OBJECTOR RECOGNISED

By Mavis James

AN Army-boy who became a conscientious objector whilst serving in the forces, bought his release for £100, and was subsequently refunded this money by the War Office.

He is James Ellis of Leicester, who became an apprentice armourer at Arborfield, Berkshire, when he joined the Army at the age of 15.

Whilst at Arborfield, he began to attend religious meetings held by the Society of Friends (Quakers) at Reading. A year after his enlistment, he decided that he could no longer continue to serve with the Army, and he approached his Commanding Officer on this matter. This had no effect.

In 1955 James Ellis overstayed his leave, and on return to his unit was confined to barracks for seven days.

His case was referred to by James Hudson, MP (Lab. and Co-op., Ealing North), in the House of Commons on February 17, during the debate on the new Army Act.

The War Office then allowed Ellis to purchase his discharge for the full amount of £100. Despite representations by his MP, Mr. Barnett Janner, the War Office refused to reduce this amount. Ellis was discharged on May 12, 1955.

Refund if exempted

Pennant Phillips, a member of the Society of Friends and now a Vice-Chairman of the Board, interested Martin Redmayne, D.S.O., the Tory MP for Rushcliffe, in this matter of boy-conscientious objectors.

An interview was held at the War Office on July 18, 1955, and as a result of their representations, the War Office informed Martin Redmayne that they were "ready in future to authorise the refund of any purchase money paid to secure the release of an Army boy on grounds of conscientious objection to military service, if subsequently he is exempted from national service on the same grounds, having satisfied a national service tribunal of his conscientious objection."

James Ellis was registered conditionally by the Birmingham tribunal on August 29. His mother thereupon wrote to the War Office and the £100 was returned.

Austrian objectors

OF 36,314 conscripts recently called up for the new Austrian army 5,679 did not respond.

Some absented themselves because of illness or for other reasons, thirty refused military service on grounds of conscience, but the majority simply ignored the call-up. The police are now making enquiries about them.

Many conscripts did not know that the new military law of September, 1955 gives them the right to refuse military service for reasons of conscience.

The Austrian Press has published a great deal about the duties of the conscript, but nothing about his rights.

The quarterly news sheet "The Anti-Militarist" edited by Louise Eisenmenger-Micko, the chairman of the Austrian Section of the WRI, was the only publication to inform its readers on every aspect of military service.

1957



... and a very happy New Year to you all. We are all hoping that what will be "new" about 1957 will be the readiness on the part of all Governments to implement their professed desire for peace by abandoning policies and actions which are a denial of it.

Nothing would make 1957 an epoch and help to create a new world so surely as the acceptance by the British Government of the policy of unilateral disarmament.

Towards that end the Peace Pledge Union will continue to work with increasing activity and confidence in the truth of pacifism.

Not that there will be anything new about that, because unilateral disarmament is the logical extension to the nation of our individual pledge to renounce war. So we shall be undertaking a national campaign to gain fresh adherents to our pledge.

Nor is there anything new in the appeal to each and all of you to provide the money which our work demands.

As I write, with a week still to go before we close our books for the old year, the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund has reached the grand record total of £1,213.

We do not yet know what figure the PPU's estimated income for 1957 will assign to Headquarters Fund, but with this great encouragement we know we can confidently rely on the continued support of all readers of this paper, and I appeal to you to give the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund a good start in 1957.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER
SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**
This pledge, signed by each member, is
the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

U.S. journalist defies State Dept. ban on China visit

WILLIAM WORTHY, American Negro journalist of the Baltimore "Afro-American" and a contributor to Peace News, has entered China in defiance of the US State Department's ban on travel to that country.

According to the Washington correspondent of the London Times, William Worthy left Hong Kong on Christmas Eve to spend a month in China.

During this time he hopes to interview American prisoners still held there as well as those who refused to return to the USA after the Korean armistice.

The Times' report (December 27) continues:

"When the State Department refused in August to allow 15 American journalists to accept invitations to go to China, it gave as its first reason the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries, which, it argued, prevented it from safeguarding the interests and persons of American travellers. Mr. Worthy, before he left Hong Kong, waived all right to claim against the United States for any loss, injury, or detention he might suffer in China.

"But the department also said that no American citizens would be allowed to visit China while other Americans were held there as 'political hostages,' and gave a warning that anyone who violated its ruling would be liable to fine and imprisonment.

Full support

"Yesterday the department issued a statement deploring Mr. Worthy's action as being 'against the expressed policy of the United States' and a spokesman said that the action to be taken would be determined after reports were received from Hong Kong.

"Mr. Worthy has the full support of his paper. The editor of the Afro-American, Mr. Mackay, has adopted the attitude held by a number of newspapers at the time the ban was reaffirmed last summer of questioning the State Department's right to limit the travel of any citizen holding a valid passport."

In Peace News last week William Worthy contributed a review of Chester Bowles' AFRICA'S CHALLENGE TO AMERICA.

The influential New York Post has welcomed William Worthy's action as a blow for the freedom of the Press. Another journal, The Editor and Publisher, has questioned the State Department's right to impose the ban, asking:

"Are the news gathering activities of the American Press subject to control by our Government according to what its foreign policy might be at any given moment?"

Latest reports are that two other American writers have entered China and that the State Department has announced that all three passports will be made valid only for return to the US.

SOUTH AFRICA AND UN

By Olwen Battersby

FOR the first time in history an act of aggression has been stopped, and a state of armed conflict brought to an end, at the behest of a resolution of the General Assembly which the United Nations were prepared to carry into effect, by the bringing into being of an international police force with contingents from Member States," said the Rev. Michael Scott in London recently.

He was addressing a Press conference just before his departure for the United Nations.

Great possibilities had been opened up, he continued, and these could not fail to be noticed by Africa.

The peoples of South Africa had for long wondered how their own Government had been able for ten years to defy the repeatedly expressed will of the General Assembly in resolutions carried every year by more than a two-thirds majority.

The full significance of the British and French withdrawal had yet to be grasped.

He himself was going to the United Nations to speak on behalf of the 35,000 Herero people, one section of whom (the Hereros were divided into eight sections) were for the third time since coming under the rule of South Africa, to be forcibly removed from their homeland to make way for European farmers.

His hearing had been ruled as legal by the International Court of Justice.

Whether in fact he would be allowed to speak to the UN seven-nation-committee on South West Africa (comprising Uruguay, USA, Pakistan, Syria, Thailand, Mexico and Brazil) would rest with a decision to be taken at the United Nations itself.

In reply to questions Michael Scott stated that the Union of South Africa's refusal to co-operate with the United Nations was not limited to the political field.

Offers of constructive help received from the World Health Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organisation and from the World Bank had been refused.

This refusal came from a nation many of whose people lived in squalid little shanty towns, in huts made from odd bits of wood and iron, with no lighting, drainage nor water-born sewage.

"The implication being that they will be withdrawn when their holders return to this country," reports The London Times' Washington correspondent.

The US Treasury may block the banking accounts of the journalists under a "Trading with the Enemy Act" so that their families could not receive funds.

FOOTNOTE: William Worthy's action calls for the support of those in every country who believe in the freedom of the Press. We would urge readers to write letters of support and to send deputations to their nearest US Embassy, Legation or Consulate stressing that William Worthy is acting up to the best in American traditions of freedom and liberty and urging that his passport should not be withdrawn.—ED.

PPU PROTESTS AT SOUTH AFRICAN TRIAL

AN appeal to the South African Government to "stop any further proceedings" against the South Africans arrested on charges of treason was made by the Peace Pledge Union on December 18, 1956 in a letter to the High Commissioner in London.

"While it is true that we do not yet know the actual evidence upon which these arrests have been made," wrote the PPU General Secretary, Stuart Morris, "we do have personal knowledge of some of those arrested and therefore find it impossible to believe that a charge of treason against them can be justified."



"This world just don't make sense! I'm here 'cause I killed a man, you're here 'cos you refused to kill anyone. Funny world!"

Coming by-election in Wales

THE by-election in the Carmarthenshire constituency in Wales, the date for which is yet to be announced, is being contested by three candidates representing the Labour Party, Liberal Party, and Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Party).

Lady Megan Lloyd George is standing for Labour, J. Morgan Davis for the Liberals, and Mrs. Jennie Eirian Davies for Plaid Cymru. A Conservative Party spokesman told Peace News that it was not yet certain whether a Conservative would stand; they have not contested the constituency for several years.

In the 1955 election Plaid Cymru polled 7.8 per cent of the votes, Labour 42.7 per cent and the Liberals 49.5 per cent.

This will be the second election in the constituency contested by Plaid Cymru. Mrs. Davies was also their candidate in the General Election in 1955 when she polled 3,835 votes.

NON-VIOLENCE

Mrs. Davies is a teacher at the Grammar School at Carmarthen, a lecturer, preacher, broadcaster, and Eisteddfod adjudicator.

In a message to the members of Plaid Cymru in the constituency, the party president, Alderman Gwynfor Evans, declared, "The Welsh Party is becoming a power and the forthcoming by-election is a golden opportunity for us all to show that the spirit of freedom is once more alive in Wales."

He called Mrs. Davies "a young woman of great ability and conviction."

Plaid Cymru is affiliated with the International Third Way Movement and has adopted as means for achieving independence the use of both constitutional means and non-violent resistance.

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STRANGLED by tradition

The following article, reprinted from the "Gamecock," student newspaper of the University of South Carolina, resulted in the dismissal of the Gamecock Editor from his position as a page in the South Carolina State Legislature.

By R. L. MORTON

MAN'S first passion was a grunt. With evolution, he has moulded and shaped his emotions with colour and song and speech. Sing we must, else go mad. Speak we must, else the throat choke and burst with silent truths. Speak we must, before its too late. Listen.

I am ashamed to be called a "Southerner." By biological accident, I, like most of you, am a native South Carolinian. With you, I am a student at the University of South Carolina, a rather large school, admirably progressive in everything except the desire to forget the past.

Throttled by this slavish and solitary stigma, we are not attempting to free ourselves. Unconsciously, we have been smothered and strangled with tradition, the so-called "Southern" tradition, a backward looking and odious attitude appropriately attributed only to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

For several years, I have been a page in the State Legislature. . . . Assisted by the decision of "nine old men" on the United States Supreme Court, they are intent on circumventing movements which would abolish segregation of the races in our state.

THE FIELDS SANG

Southern Governors and legislators have been the embarrassing sound tracks for the South. Tempered by custom, they speak with weighty, obstreperous and irrational voices.

Never have they spoken for me and some of you. Never could they speak for those who feel as we do.

Being a Southerner, my decrying segregation is worse than damning a venerable old god. But most gods are merciful and understanding; many Southerners are not. Most gods are forgiving and broadminded; most state legislators are not.

Twelve miles below Columbia, on a bluff overlooking the Congaree Swamp, I was born.

Clearly I remember racing through haystacks, over the holy pastures green and blithe with the confusion of youth. The fields sang to us, and our bodies ripened in the sun.

My only playmate was Fred, a Negro, and nothing I cared about the colour of his skin. He was as I, and every moment was merry.

Then, one day, my visiting Auntie, an enormous woman who smeared lipstick on her forehead when she smiled, saw us drinking from the spring. With all the affected dignity of a Southern lady, she informed me that Freddy was a "nigger" and should never be caught drinking from that spring again. Freddy cowered away dumbfoundedly. I was abashed.

BUT FREDDIE CRIED

Auntie died two years later, and both Freddy and I watched the funeral less than a hundred yards from the spring. There I discovered suddenly not sorrow, but hatred. I wanted to kick dirt in her embalmed face, a face representative of all the ignorance and superstitions of generations past.

But Freddy cried, and all the fears of his young, dark world cried pity, not hatred. Now Freddy is a part of the Korean hillside, and he died for the grace of people like Auntie. But Auntie's temperament did not die with her. Her stupidity is reflected and echoed in every Citizens' Council in the South today.

This America is: Sing to me of the sunlight of the human spirit pouring through open windows.

This South is: Slur to me your syllables of interposition.

This America is: Show, don't dream to me of human dignity.

This South is: Move to the rear of the bus.

Six Negroes were convicted for trespassing by an all-white jury at Greensboro, North Carolina, USA. They had played nine holes of golf on a public golf course reserved for white people only.

No Socialist is complete
without

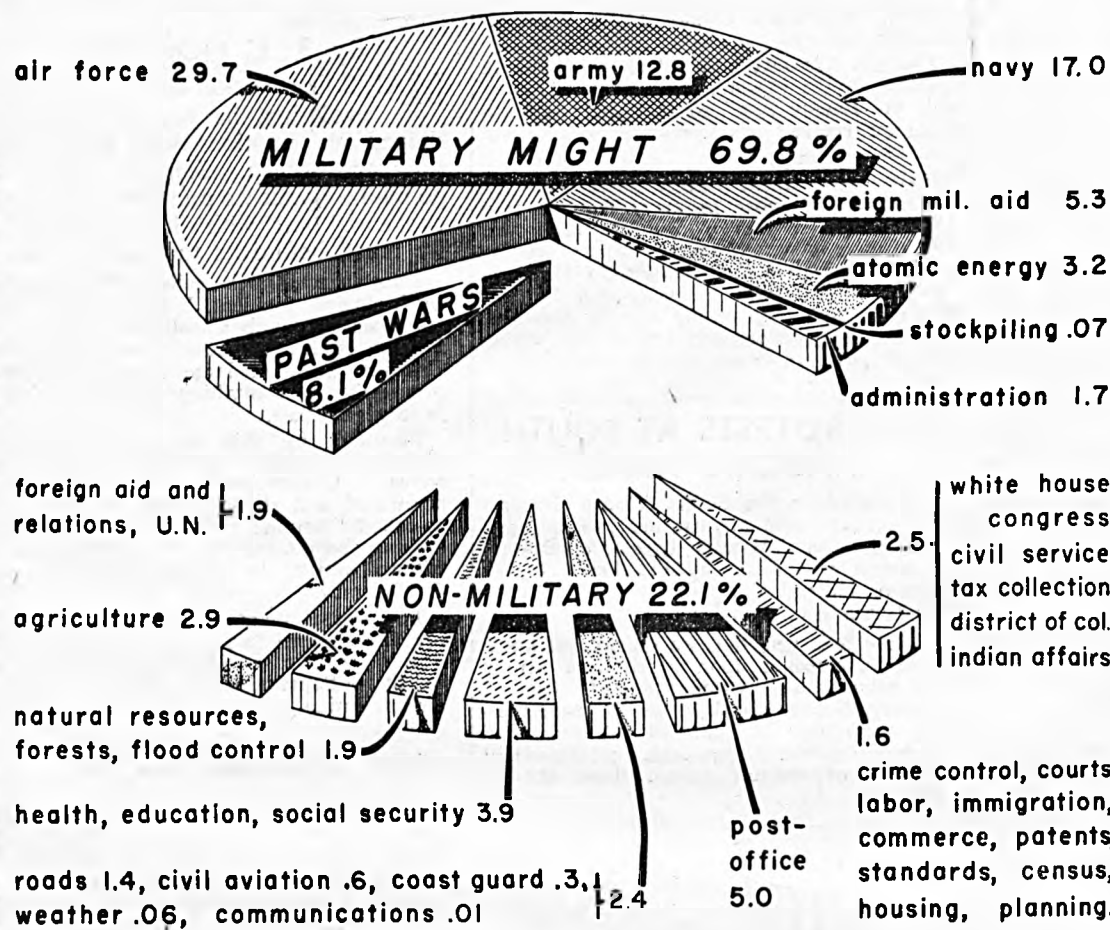
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How war drains a nation's resources

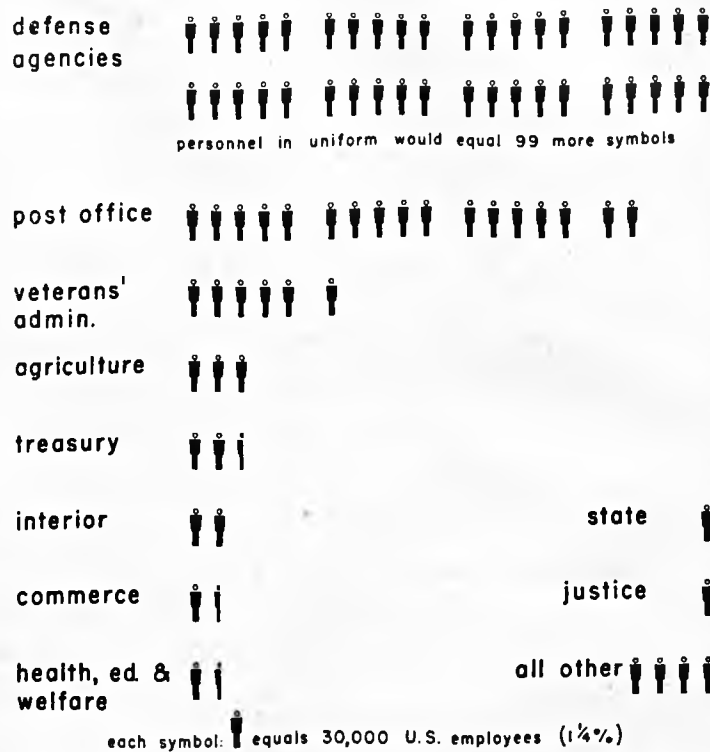
U.S. FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS
Fiscal year: July 1956 to June 1957
Total: \$59,800,000,000



FIGURES SHOW % OF TOTAL APPROPRIATIONS

These charts were prepared by the Friends' (Quakers) Committee on National Legislation, 104 C Street, NE, Washington, DC, and appeared with a list of detailed appropriations in the October, 1956, issue of their "Washington Newsletter."

U.S. FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
June 1956: Total: 2,382,276



How the world's resources are spent is illustrated by the United States Bureau of the Budget's estimates of how the approximately \$69,100,000,000 (\$59,800,000,000 in new appropriations plus "permanent appropriations" and supplemental and temporary appropriations) will be spent during the current 1957 fiscal year. The appropriations are divided in almost the same way as in previous years. Past and present military activities consume 78 cents of every dollar appropriated by Congress.

In addition to 2,865,000 persons in the armed forces in June 1956, there were 2,382,276 civilians employed by the Executive Branch of the US Government, of which 50.1 per cent were employed by the Defence Department and related agencies.

BOOKS

THE ATOMIC ARMS RACE

Dr. James Topping reviews

Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations, by P. M. S. Blackett, FRS, Cambridge University Press, pp. VI + 107. 8s. 6d.

THIS little book is based on the Lees Knowles Lectures on Military Science given in the University of Cambridge in the Spring of last year. The author is not only one of our most distinguished atomic physicists, but during World War II he was a scientific adviser on military matters and for a period was Director of Naval Operational Research at the Admiralty.

He has written an earlier book called MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIC ENERGY. In his new book he is concerned with the effects of atomic weapons on military doctrines and how their development has influenced East-West relations.

It is not a pacifist handbook, but it brings a keen intelligence to bear on the political happenings and military thinking of the last decade, which must be appreciated even by those who are strongly opposed to the use of atomic weapons.

He describes the atomic arms race that has gone on since 1945 and now reached the position where America and the Soviet Union have a stock-pile of hydrogen bombs and neither side has or can envisage an effective defence against them. The author emphasizes the impossibility of defence: "it does not seem at all likely that any such defence system which, for instance, Britain would be able to build and pay for, would constitute an effective defence against A-bombers and still less against H-bombers."

The scramble for advanced bases by both USA and USSR, and all the development of guided missiles, makes defence no more certain.

Nor can greater resources of science and technology "to offset the unwillingness of its citizens to become soldiers" save the West; in any case USSR is at present producing more technologists per head of the population than America and England together.

Professor Blackett thinks that "what is a reasonable and attainable goal is approximate technological parity in certain essential weapons and weapons systems. This would go a long way to ensure that neither side would see any advantage in disturbing the peace."

It is on this technological balance and on the great superiority on both sides of atomic powers over defensive possibilities, that the author bases his planning for the future: "I think we should act as if atomic and hydrogen bombs have abolished total war."

He finally concludes: "We have to learn to live with bombs, as we are indeed doing every year, and every year we live with them is one step towards the possibility of real agreement on how first to control them and how then to

abolish them." It is a slim hope for the world. His criticism of politicians and writers of White Papers is refreshingly frank, and his independence of mind and judgment most attractive.

He has some interesting comments to make on the attitude of American scientists, particularly Oppenheimer, on the use of the first atomic bombs and on the decision to proceed to manufacture the H-bomb.

About Hiroshima and Nagasaki he writes: "The scientists were no doubt at the time consoled by the belief, so authoritatively expressed by President Truman himself that the dropping of the bombs saved 'untold American lives,' sometimes estimated at half a million."

"This consolation cannot have lasted long, for information gradually became available as to Japan's readiness to surrender well before the bombs were dropped."

This is something we should never forget.

WARTIME IN GUERNSEY

Appointment with Mars, by Edwin Foley. 16 pp. Fellowship of Reconciliation, London, 1s.

DURING World War II only one part of the British Isles was occupied by the Germans. The way in which the enemy forces behaved was quite different from what horrific rumour and the terrifying visions conjured up by the war leaders of the time would have led one to expect.

Indeed, it was quite different from the way in which they undoubtedly did behave in other territories that they occupied.

Why? Well, in this fascinating little pamphlet the Rev. Edwin Foley, who was Baptist Minister in Guernsey during the German occupation of the Channel Islands, attributes it almost entirely to the fact that the British Government, for strategic reasons, of course, "demilitarised" the islands and made no attempt to "defend" them.

What would have happened eventually if the end of the war had not ended the occupation, and whether there were special conditions here that would not have applied to other places on the mainland, are questions that can still be debated. Pacifists will be encouraged, though, that the course they have so often advocated, when tried on a limited scale under exceptional conditions, proved notably successful.

A child's life of Gandhi

A bomb is thrown at Gandhi

Gandhi had spent fifty years working for the freedom of India. Last week we read how his dream came true. He had finally overcome the British by love and gentleness.

THEN, one evening, during a prayer meeting which he was holding in Delhi, someone threw a bomb at Gandhi. A madman—for surely he must have been a madman—had tried to kill the Father of India who was all love and kindness for the whole world.

But God did not wish him to die yet. Gandhi had one more thing to teach India by his example and that was absolute fearlessness and trust in God.

As he grew older, Gandhi's bravery seemed to increase. He would never use violence, not

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

even to defend his life. He hated cowardice as much as he hated violence.

Once he was asked what he would do if whilst walking along, carrying a stick, he was attacked by an angry snake. He replied simply, "I should throw away the stick." Rather than allow himself to strike even a snake, in fear, he would prefer to remain defenceless.

AND so he showed no fear when the bomb was thrown at him. When the new Indian Government, to whom his life was more precious than gold, wanted to protect him with guards in the future, he refused.

He forgave the young man who had tried to kill him and went on with his daily life as if nothing had happened, guiding the new Government by his wise advice and the people by his holy example.

Each day he held prayer meetings in the

open air as usual. He never showed the least nervousness, nor looked about to see if danger threatened. He knew that nothing could happen to him that was not willed by God.

Then, a few evenings later, as he walked to the prayer ground, still weak from his recent fast, a man came forward and shot him through the heart.

WITHOUT a cry Gandhi sank to the ground, murmuring only: "O Ram, O Ram"—the name of God which he loved the most. His kind eyes turned a second time toward his murderer and Gandhi was dead.

He died because there are in the world some men so evil that they hate goodness—hate it as much, and more, than good men hate evil. Into the hearts of such men devils seem to enter.

Like lightning the terrible news spread round the world and all nations mourned with India in her sorrow.

The loss of Gandhi has left a terrible emptiness in the land he loved so dearly, but he would not want useless grief. In our sadness we may find comfort in the thought that his dearest wish was to see God face to face, for most surely he is with God now.

AND he has left each one of us a legacy. Rich or poor, great or small, we have each our part to fulfil in completing his work.

He trusted us to walk in his footsteps and we can and must be faithful. He has left us an example that even the poorest and most ignorant can follow. If we each do our utmost to end communal hatred, despise nobody, help all who need our help, and sincerely follow the right path in all things, we shall each and all be sharing in the great and blessed work for which Mahatma Gandhi gave his precious life.

Concluded

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Good news for P.N. readers!

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

January 4, 1957—PEACE NEWS—5

German laughter

BRITISH Conservative papers (Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, etc.) are at variance with their friend and ally Herr Adenauer.

They reproach him with being unforgivably slow with the promised and long overdue German rearmament (did they need it for Mr. Eden's "Police action?") and—which is graver still—being reluctant to pay for the British occupation forces' 50 years holiday in Germany.

To see dear old friends quarrel with each other should be a matter of melancholy concern. But in this case, I could not find it in my heart to feel that way. It might even be nearer the mark to say that I was outright amused, in which I know I am wrong.

The papers ought to have stopped here. But they thought fit to refer to the formidable menace of withdrawing the British forces from our territory.

Now it is fortunate for them that this did not become generally known over here, otherwise formidable bursts of laughter might be heard all over Germany. For the withdrawal of your forces is the very thing we should like.

We utterly refuse to believe in the British cant of protection of Germany by allied forces. Neither is protection the effect nor even the aim of these forces. No, we are fully aware of the fact that Britain finds it much more convenient to defend herself on German than on British soil.

The very least thing we should expect from them, is to pay for their own defence. But in any case, nearly all of us would be very glad to get rid of British troops here and would willingly pay their fares back.

KARL STRUVE.

Wentorf bei Hamburg, Germany.

Pacifism and totalitarianism

IN the Observer editorial dated December 23, 1956, occurred the astonishing statement: "As Hitler should have taught us, the fallacy of pacifism is that it leads to handing the world over to the aggressive militarists."

On the contrary, the clearest lesson that we have learnt from Hitler is that having opposed his form of totalitarianism with violence—certainly not with pacifism—we landed the world into the most terrible war in history, culminating in the dropping of the A-bomb, inexorably bringing us to the present state where the whole earth is threatened by a far greater form of totalitarianism.

On the other hand, the pacifism of Gandhi and his followers (which has never been tried by the Western world despite the implication in the Observer that it has) succeeded in ridding India of its foreign yoke with the minimum of violence and militaristic operations.

It is not the "fallacy of pacifism" but the failure of mankind to be pacific that hands the world over to the aggressive militarists who could not indulge their belligerency without the co-operation of a public mentally misled and conditioned by the type of jesuitry of which the Observer editorial is an example.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach, Selsey, Sussex.

America

I SHOULD like to make a very mild criticism of the article entitled "America takes stock" by Reginald Reynolds in your issue for October 26.

I do not know whether or not Mr. Reynolds is a pacifist, but I did not find his article very pacifist. I was surprised to find so much venom in Mr. Reynolds' criticism of America and Americans—a sort of writing one finds in Life and Time. Besides this, Mr. Reynolds might have done a little more evaluating of his information and his informants—there is some small indication that they were pulling his leg!

Mr. Reynolds might also have taken the trouble to find out what the differences between Republicans and Democrats really were. There are differences, though in some areas they are depressingly alike.

The materialistic foreign policy is as greedy and stupid, and as irresponsible and vacillating as that of the previous administration.

There was every indication that a Democratic President might have carried this on, though there were a few startling differences (Stevenson's attitudes towards the H-bomb and the call-up).

While I am a British subject and may not vote, I would certainly not have voted for either of the two war parties, but for the Socialist party where my convictions lie.

Mr. Reynolds will agree that Americans voted for Eisenhower as a person and not specially for his party.

A. H. CODDINGTON.

5751 Merriewood Drive, Oakland, 11, California, USA.

Spiritual healing

THERE are few men I respect and wish to agree with as I do Dr. Christopher Woodard, but I cannot see why he has to bring in God as an implied essential to spiritual healing (PN, December 21).

Most of us are convinced that the spirit of man's determination can have a considerable influence in healing, just as we have learned that the material food with which we run the human machine can make or mar its natural functioning.

Though Dr. Woodard is broadminded enough not to insist on any particular deity, he does imply that a religious outlook is an essential to spiritual healing.

Further, while I admit the great services of orthodox medicine and surgery, in matters of healing... I feel that the Ministry of Health should be guided by a Council of Healing, and not only by the insular and sometimes intolerant representatives of the British Medical Association.

ADRIAN BRUNEL.

First House, Bulstrode Way, Gerrards Cross, Bucks.

Golden medals

YOUR correspondent, S. R. Dalton (PN, December 21), is mistaken to assert that international sports intensify hatreds. Olympic Games, like all international

gatherings, lead under ordinary circumstances to amity, brotherhood and understanding.

But under exceptional circumstances, when the minds of the participants have been persistently poisoned by continuous broadcasts (in which some people still believe!) and violent political Press propaganda—such as is happening now, when certain systems of governmental ruling are undergoing a more or less radical change—then the inherent good sense of sportsmanship and common decency breaks down, particularly when the participants have been previously briefed by politically biased "instructors" or sponsors.

If left alone, the good sense and fraternal feelings of most sportsmen, delegates, etc., will always prevail and it is only when delegates represent a certain political party or are unduly influenced before departure, that a false sense of loyalty or "patriotism" overrules their good judgment and upsets their balance of mind.

GEORGE RULF.

15 Gladstone Street, Sandford, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2.

Let us lead

THE hatred between the East and West seems to have divested both contenders of moral dignity and moral judgment.

Judging from broadcast reports Russia is guilty of irreparable violation of humanity. Who will point the finger of scorn at such a vicious aggressor? What nation of the "free world" is justified in doing so? Has our example been commendable? The history of the growth of the American nation makes clear that we are not justified in the assumption of innocence.

A review of the inflicted tragedy and pathos suffered by the American Indian, the Negro and the Oriental under the entrenched white man should make us contrite—and our conscientious objectors to war are persecuted by the same tyranny.

If we wish to be just and helpful in the world, let us cease our menacing military attitude. Let us try to make restitution for our depredations, and humbly pray to be forgiven.

Let us lead the way to world brotherhood. Let us weigh our own conduct before we censure our arrogant neighbour.

The counsel of sages from antiquity, the voice of the prophets and the divine entreaty of the Galilean are disregarded by a materialistic world clamouring for the things that perish.

LOUIS OBED RENNE.

114 Cornell Rd., Menlo Park, California, USA.

Scandinavian WRI

THE last Scandinavian Conference of the War Resisters' International which took place at Gvry in Norway carried unanimously the resolution to send the following declaration to the governments of all countries via the Human Rights Commission through the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

"Nobody must be compelled to do military service, if training for war and in the use of arms is contrary to a firm and sincere personal conviction.

"The governments of all countries are called upon to make it possible for these conscientious objectors to participate in international relief work in the struggle against hunger and want, as a substitute for military service.

This Declaration was signed by the Chairmen of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Sections of the WRI and Felix Iversen, WRI member from Finland, and was sent to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld at the United Nations in New York, and a copy to the World Council of Peace in Vienna.

NEW DANGER SPOT IN THE EAST

● FROM PAGE TWO

his action gave expression to the population's fierce discontent.

And hardly had the news of this revolt been minimised in official statements from Jakarta when it became known, two days later, that a corresponding movement had occurred, under the Republic's own territorial Commander for North and Central Sumatra, Colonel Simbolon, in the north.

RESIGNATION

A Medan broadcast by the Colonel, on December 23, stated that North and Central Sumatra had "dissociated themselves" from the Jakarta Government and no longer recognised it.

Sutan Sjahrir has long since disappeared from public attention, and Mahommed Hatta, who had remained in the background as Vice-President of the Republic, resigned from that position three weeks before the outbreak of this particular trouble, in general disapproval of government policy.

But he may not be allowed to vanish from the scene.

In Java as well as other parts of the realm there is a widespread demand that he should take the place of President Sukarno. He is old and may refuse—which would be a pity.

The importance of all this to the world in general lies in the enormous potential wealth of Indonesia, and of Sumatra in particular.

PROBLEM

Here is a country, with oil, rubber, tobacco, sugar, tea, palm oil, copra and a variety of minerals, which the West cannot want to fall under Soviet influence, and Russia and China cannot want to see too closely linked to the West.

It presents a problem quite as thorny as the Middle East—and the disintegration of the Republic is at least a possibility. It may, and we may hope that it will, be averted.

But the danger of disintegration is real, with additional outbursts of unrest reported from Minahasa, the northernmost part of Celebes, and smouldering discontent in other parts of the widely diffused territory of the Republic.

The pity of it all is that nothing on this scale could have happened if the overweening lust for power of one group of men in the early days of the Republic had not forced these widely diversified peoples and islands under one central government, bound by the very character of the area's history, to prove incompetent to deal with its gigantic tasks.

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, January 4

HULL: 8.15 p.m.; 6 Bond St., "Topicalities." All welcome. Peace Pledge Union.

Saturday, January 5

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m.; "The Beehive", Bishopgate St. (off Broad St.). Christmas Party. Folk dancing, sketches, etc. West Midlands Area, PPU.

Sunday, January 6

BELFAST: 3.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Richard K. Ullmann (Lecturer Friends College, Woodbrooke, Birmingham), "The Christian Attitude to the War on Want." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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LONDON: Weekend Workshops, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 8.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBRIDGE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Discussion, music, radio, etc.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mtg. on Dec. 20; no further mtg. until Jan. 10. PYAG.

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PLEASE NOTE: Advertisements for the issue of December 28 must be received not later than Friday, December 21.

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Nehru and Eisenhower

□ FROM PAGE ONE

of the President's farm these two world leaders got to know each other and to admire each other.

Each was prepared to think the best of the other—which may not have been true when Nehru and Truman met in 1949.

The question has been asked of the Gettysburg talks if Eisenhower converted Nehru—politically—or if it was the other way around. However, the whole purpose of the visit was conversation—communication—and not conversion. They found that they spoke the same language—not only English but peace.

Nehru admitted later in Canada that it was difficult to deal with the Russian leaders because of the presence of interpreters and the slowness of translations. On a language level at least it was easier for Nehru to reach the mind of the President.

COMMON GROUND

All evidences point to the happy result that the conversations were on a warm emotional level also.

Another favourable outcome of the visit was Nehru's impression on the American people and the American Press. He arrived in the United States distinctly a "controversial character," and yet he left five days afterwards with a basically friendly Press.

He was widely heard and seen by the American people over television and he was mercifully questioned by American journalists at a large Press conference (also televised). He triumphantly survived both experiences.

He emerged as a warm-hearted statesman who was the heir of the universally-revered Mahatma Gandhi. Americans didn't suddenly agree with everything he said, but they liked him. He was not the tight-rope walker they read about in the magazines or saw caricatured in the newspapers.

A third favourable outcome of the visit was the visible emergence of new common ground between India and America.

Nehru found Eisenhower not to be completely war-minded and Eisenhower found Nehru not to be entirely Communist-inclined. A new climate of trust leading to an era of broad understanding was discovered. Their agreement in goals far overshadowed certain difference in method.

The timing of the visit could not have been more auspicious.

Had the President not been sick last July and the visit taken place then, there may have been serious differences of goals and methods. With India's disenchantment of Russia by recent events in Hungary and equally with America's disenchantment of Britain and France by recent events in Egypt, both men were ripe to rethink hitherto rigidly-held positions. Whereas six months ago Eden was a bridge between Eisenhower and Nehru, today ironically Nehru emerges as the bridge between Eisenhower and Eden!

What practically emerged from the visit? Nehru will try even harder to induce Chou En-lai to release the remaining American prisoners in China. Nehru knows that Eisenhower is prevented politically from taking further steps toward easing American-Chinese tensions until this step is accomplished.

NEHRU'S MEDIATION

After that Eisenhower may slowly relax the ban on American reporters going to China and, in time, the ban on trade with China. Eisenhower may now have better reasons for remaining outside the Baghdad Pact. He was certainly given better reasons by Nehru.

On the other hand, Nehru might support more wholeheartedly the new American proposals in the United Nations Disarmament Commission. Eisenhower is ready, it has been reported, to arrange for a huge, long-term loan for India, reportedly around 550 million dollars. This is still very much in its initial stages.

It would not be outright economic aid, but a loan. Interest might be paid through subsequent gifts to India if a more ambitious economic aid programme for India can get through Congress at a later date.

One outcome of the visit which many had hoped for was Nehru's active mediation to solve the whole range of problems in the Near East.

While Nehru admitted in America that the dangers of widespread war are still very much present in the Near East, he gave little indication that he was in a position to lessen those dangers. The possibility of world conflict is as

great here as it was in Korea, Formosa, or Indo-China.

In all three instances, Nehru risked the wrath of all sides by determinedly trying to widen the area of peace and helping to negotiate a settlement.

He gave indications in Washington and at the United Nations that he would use his influence (which is considerable) on President Nasser to advise moderation in negotiations leading to the reopening and future use of the Suez Canal.

It would seem that Nehru more than any other world leader, including Eisenhower, is in a position to use his great prestige and greater moral leverage with the Arabs, including the Egyptians, the Israelis, and the waning British and French power to help arrange a permanent settlement which would go beyond the Suez issue itself.

This settlement would probably not be wholly pleasing to any of these nations (or to Russia or America) but such a compromise would appreciably lessen the dangers of a third world war.

In Washington and New York, Nehru had something of relevance to say about the Hungarian uprising. Part of what he said was in defence of the Indian position in the UN which has been severely criticised in America. Part of what he said was in answer to questions about the use of Gandhism by satellite peoples.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

At his Washington Press Conference, Nehru was asked if "the technique of Mahatma Gandhi of passive resistance could" be used successfully by the Hungarian people." Nehru replied:

"I can't give a reply about what might happen in Hungary or any particular place because I am not adequately acquainted with the background in the sense of when people apply technique they must, to some extent, be trained in it; they must, to some extent, understand it. There is always a danger of superficially applying a technique and not adhering to it and thereby falling between two stools; but I do believe that that type of technique is not only effective but, if I may say so, in the long run more effective than other techniques, if people have understood it and can do it in an organised way."

Nehru's brief five days in the United States did not give him much time for interviews. The heads of the Co-operative League did see him for twenty minutes in New York City to acquaint him with the breadth of the co-operative movement in the United States and of their eagerness to continue to help the co-operative movement in India.

Then a delegation of five Quakers, headed by Lewis Hoskins of the American Friends Service Committee, saw him in his presidential suite 35 stories up in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The deputation began the interview by suggesting that they have a period of silence with Nehru to help relieve the pressures on him.

Then they discussed problems of American-Chinese relations and asked what American Friends could do. Nehru knew of the British team of Quakers who visited China. They pressed the hope that a similar American team could visit China as soon as Americans are allowed by both countries to enter.

They also brought to Nehru's attention the Gandhian movement in Montgomery, Alabama, against bus segregation. This came to its climax and Negroes were for the first time beginning to ride the buses in an unsegregated manner just as the Quakers were talking to Nehru.

He indicated that he had heard of this movement. They hoped that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and perhaps other Montgomery leaders, could visit India in an effort to strengthen Indian-American relations. They finally discussed certain British and American projects in India sponsored by the Quakers.

At the reception for Nehru at the United Nations, he met his old friend, Roger Baldwin, who for many years was head of the American Civil Liberties Union and now is at the United Nations heading the International League for the Rights of Man. They first met in 1927 at the Congress of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels and they worked closely in Geneva.

MORE SLOWLY

At this reception, Baldwin nostalgically told Nehru: "Jawaharlal, many things we fought for together thirty years ago are now coming true." Nehru smiled and replied: "But it is slower than we thought."

Nehru met briefly a few other old friends of Indian freedom in America, such as Norman Thomas and J. J. Singh, and many newer friends of India, such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, Chester Bowles, and Adlai Stevenson.

At the UN reception Nehru also met again Michael Scott who has been shaken by the mass trials of many of his friends in the Union of South Africa.

The five days Nehru spent in the United States in December add up to unbelievable and unqualified success. History may well remember the glow of Gettysburg as a turning point in American-Indian relations. It is hoped by some Americans that the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in 1957 may not forget it. No world leader has worked harder, travelled farther, or achieved more for world peace in the past decade than Jawaharlal Nehru.

M. Alfred Nahon, 45-year-old French vegetarian in Lausanne, and Fr. Wilhelm Von Arbter, German Roman Catholic priest in Munich on December 27 began a "fast unto death" in support of their demand for an end to nuclear bomb tests.

They declared: "We will fast unto death if this race towards the death of all humanity and all kingdoms of life . . . is not stopped."

100,000 REFUGEES

● FROM PAGE ONE

Mr. Wigg told Peace News on Monday, speaking of the care with which the report had been drawn up.

The fund for Egyptian relief opened by Mr. Wigg has already reached £1,200. "This shows what could be done if there were a national appeal," he added.

Under the heading "Egypt's Hundred and Twenty Thousand Refugees," The Friend, the British Quaker journal, publishes an interview with Paul Johnson by the editor, Bernard Canter (Dec. 28).

EFFICIENCY

Asked how many Egyptian citizens had streamed out of Port Said and other bombarded points and become refugees, Paul Johnson, who is very familiar with the problem of refugee registration having been Field Director of relief operations for the AFSC in Gaza in 1949 and 1950, replied:

"The Egyptian Government says 120,000, of whom 40,000 are under Government care, housed in schools and social centres in the Northern Delta area; and the rest scattered all over Egypt."

"I am inclined to think, having seen something of the official registration machinery, that the figures are reasonably correct, if one allows for a certain amount of duplication of names which must inevitably occur in such an emergency and which takes time to set right—some 'ghost' refugees, entered twice, as we used to find in the record of refugees in Palestine."

"I was deeply impressed with the efficiency of the arrangements made by the Ministry of Social Affairs for the refugees."

"As Willard Jones has also reported, Government aid takes the form chiefly of cash aid—10 piastres (about 2s.) a head a day, paid to the head of each family, who is provided with a registration card bearing his photograph and having on the back entries of the payments as they are made. This may seem a small amount, but it has to be judged in comparison with subsistence levels in Egypt, and a family with several members may well be getting actually more than a reasonably well-trained artisan could earn."

"Besides cash payments there is some material aid: distribution of some surplus goods of American origin where available, and the issue of one blanket between every two persons. [The weather in Egypt, it should be noted, is now cold and wintry.]"

"I am reporting at once to Philadelphia that there are four principal urgent needs which overseas relief services, including the AFSC, may be able to help to meet—blankets; slippers (pullovers) or sweaters for boys and girls and others; medical sup-

Youth discuss America

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

TWO and a half thousand senior school boys and girls, drawn from all parts of the British Isles, gathered at the Central Hall, London, last Tuesday, under the auspices of the Council for Education in World Citizenship. The subject of the conference was "North America"—its way of life, position in world affairs, and future possibilities.

Was the assumption of world leadership by America due merely to her wealth; how great was the influence of Negro slavery on American life; how could the neurotic fear called "McCarthyism" be explained; should not America have taken more positive action in Hungary; how sincere was American religion; these and other questions asked by the audience showed that the "Citizens of Tomorrow" were concerned not merely with the acquisition of knowledge, but also with the underlying moral values.

By the purchase of stamps through the UNESCO gift coupon scheme they hoped to assist with the education of Arab refugees, who numbered 900,000 in the world today, and who might well be penalised by the influx of Hungarian refugees elsewhere.

UNESCO were paying 5s. per head per year for the education of Arab refugee children, but equipment was badly needed. The purchase of a shilling stamp by each member of the conference would make a substantial contribution to its purchase.

NEGROES RIDE AGAIN

THE year long Montgomery, Alabama, non-violent bus boycott has ended with full integration on the bus lines within the city.

A federal court order last week ordered an end to the segregation, and in accordance with plans reported in Peace News on December 21 by Dr. Homer Jack the boycott was called off and Negroes began riding the buses sitting where they pleased.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the boycott who based the campaign on the teachings of Gandhi, was one of the first Negroes to ride in white seats after the US Supreme Court

Most whites took the changeover with composure, many with downright good humour. Said a white bank teller of the jubilant Negroes: "They'll find that all they've won in their year of praying and boycotting is the same lousy service I've been getting every day."

There were, however, two reports of buses being fired upon.

The Overseas Vacancies Register, referred to in Peace News last week in the article "How to volunteer for war on want" is priced at 2s. 6d. (postage 2d.). This amount should be remitted to the United World Education and Research Trust, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1, when ordering.

Michael Randle, the British pacifist who travelled to Austria with the intention of demonstrating his solidarity with Hungarian passive resisters at the Austro-Hungarian border, was expected to spend New Year's Day in a vigil at a frontier post according to reports received in London on Monday.

plies (of which Church World Service and other relief organisations in America are already sending shipments); and primus stoves.

"The Egyptian Government plans to provide a primus stove for every refugee family."

SENDING AID

"Paul Johnson's mission had been concerned not only with the investigation reported above," writes Bernard Canter in The Friend, "but also with the plight of the Jews in Egypt, the great majority of whom are not Egyptian citizens but either Stateless or subjects of various European countries."

"They are suffering severe hardship under the policy of expulsion being pursued by the Government. He is not yet in a position to report on this problem, as further investigation and inquiry are necessary."

A third purpose of Paul Johnson's visit was to find out if British Quakers could express their concern for what had been done by providing aid to Egypt.

Bernard Canter gained the impression that there were many grave difficulties, caused "by the very fact of British Government responsibility for the suffering that has been experienced in Egypt."

"This fact would seem, as far as one can see at present, to rule out the admission of British subjects into Egypt for a service of relief or for any other purpose."

Money, on the other hand, could continue to be channelled through Inter-Church Aid. British Quakers had already sent £100.

There could be no direct shipments from Britain to Egypt. Material aid might be possible by an indirect route.

SYBIL MORRISON'S COLUMN will appear again next week. She has been on holiday.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

★ FROM PAGE ONE

Co-signers of this manifesto are: Swami Ajarananda, Professor, University of Indonesia.

Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, Minister of Agriculture (Malaya). In personal capacity only.

Vera Brittain, author and Director of Peace News (England).

Professor Martin Buber (Israel).

Waldo Frank, Litt.D., author (USA).

Rev. Harold N. Geistweit, D.D., L.D. (USA).

Professor Dr. D. V. Gokhale, M.A., Ph.D. (India).

Vidyevee D. Gokhale, B.A., Ph.D. (India).

Victor Gollancz, publisher and author (England).

Dr. Zakir Husain, Muslim University (India).

Professor D. Caradog Jones, M.A. (Camb.) (England).

Yrjö Kallinen, Ex-Minister of Defence (Finland).

Arthur Koestler, author (England).

Dr. Tomi Kora, Ph.D., Senator, President Tagore Society, Gandhi Peace Society (Japan).

Gerard Lacaze-Duthiers, author (France).

Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, D.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S. (England).

Professor G. Malalasekera, D.Litt., Ph.D., University of Ceylon, President, Buddhist Council of Ceylon.

Dr. Karl Menninger, Psychiatrist (USA).

Krishna Nehru Hutheesing, author (India).

Church President D. Martin Niemöller (Germany).

Eugen Relgis, author (Uruguay).

Eleanor Roosevelt (USA).

Bertrand (Earl) Russell (England).

Reginald W. Sorensen, M.P., Chairman of National Peace Council (England).

Pastor Erik Svedberg, President, Swedish World Peace Mission (Sweden).

Ebba Tranaeus, President, Swedish Mothers Peace League (Sweden).

Professor Johannes Ude (Austria).

Professor Dr. Werner Zimmermann, author (Switzerland).

The manifesto was initiated by Mrs. Vera Robert-Akesson, President, International Campaign for Human Rights, Lidmansvaegen 7, Vaestras, Sweden, and Alfred W. Parker, Secretary, International World Peace Day Committee, 609 Santa Ray Avenue, Oakland 10, California, USA.

SPECIAL KENYA SUPPLEMENT

ANOTHER Kenya Government employee, Philip R. Meldon, grandson of Sir Albert Meldon, has come forward with an account of his experiences while working amongst detained Africans in Kenya. His full story will appear exclusively in Peace News next Friday.

Mr. Meldon was a former Commandant of a displaced persons camp in Berlin, has travelled in Australia, the Far East and Malaya and was in the Kenya civil service from March, 1954, until May, 1956.

Also

EILEEN FLETCHER

replies to the Colonial Office memorandum on her original Peace News articles.

Dr. PETER WORSLEY

Lecturer in Sociology, University of Hull, contributes a historical background to the present situation in Kenya.

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Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, USA. Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd. (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4.

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